

INCOMING UNCLASSIFIED

Johnson

AMERICAN EMBASSY
HELSINKI
31 JUL 1975

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TAGS: SOPN, XF, PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT MARILYN BERGER SECOND PAGE BYLINER
TUESDAY, JULY 31, WASHPOST, HEADLINED "KISSINGER OFF
GUARD JORDAN HAWK DEAL TURNS SOUR."

2. ON JULY 9 SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER LEFT
WASHINGTON FOR A TRIP TO PARIS, GENEVA, BONN AND LONDON.
AMONG THE MANY TOP STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON THE PLANE
WERE THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS,
HIS DEPUTY, AND THE HEAD OF THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF.
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE JOSEPH J. SISCO, KISSINGER'S TOP
MIDDLE EAST SPECIALIST, LEFT THE NEXT DAY TO JOIN THE
GROUP IN GENEVA.

3. THAT SAME DAY, JULY 10, WHILE KISSINGER WAS BUSY THINK-
ING ABOUT ENERGY PROBLEMS, ARMS CONTROL AND TWO FORTH-
COMING SPEECHES--ON THE UNITED NATIONS AND ON MORALITY IN
FOREIGN POLICY--THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, AS REQUIRED BY
LAW, INFORMED CONGRESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLAN TO

SELL JORDAN 14 BATTERIES OF SOPHISTICATED HAWK GROUND-TO-
AIR MISSILES.

4. THE DISCLOSURE TOUCHED OFF A TREMENDOUS STORM THAT
FORCED THE ADMINISTRATION TO PULL BACK FROM A VOTE, SOURED
RELATIONS WITH THE MOST MODERATE OF THE ARAB STATES,
LEFT ISRAEL FEELING DECEIVED, AND MADE SOME MEMBERS OF
CONGRESS WONDER IF THE LEFT HAND KNOWS WHAT THE RIGHT
HAND IS DOING IN THIS GOVERNMENT.

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5. THERE IS UNANIMITY NOW ON ONLY ONE POINT, A REFRAIN² HEARD AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND ON CAPITOL HILL: IT WAS NOT THE MOST BRILLIANTLY HANDLED OPERATION.

6. THERE IS ALSO THE SUGGESTION THAT IF KISSINGER HAD BEEN MINDING THE STORE INSTEAD OF TRYING TO RUN THE STATE DEPARTMENT FROM AN AIRPLANE, HE OR ONE OF HIS CHIEF AIDES MIGHT JUST POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE--BY INTERCEDING WITH THE JORDANIANS, OR WITH THE ISRAELIS, OR BOTH, TO PREVENT THE DEBACLE.

7. BUT KISSINGER ADMITS HE WAS TAKEN BY SURPRISE. HE TOLD THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IN CLOSED

SESSION JULY 24 THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS WAS TO COVER THE ENTIRE \$350 MILLION AIR DEFENSE DEAL, INCLUDING THE 14 HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES, WORKED OUT WITH JORDAN. HE THOUGHT THE NOTIFICATION WOULD COVER ONLY THE FIRST INSTALLMENT, THE THREE BATTERIES AT \$100 MILLION TO BE DELIVERED WITHIN 15 MONTHS. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE KNEW THE MAGNITUDE OF THE ENTIRE PACKAGE NEGOTIATED DURING KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT HERE IN APRIL.

8. THAT "MISUNDERSTANDING," AS KISSINGER DESCRIBED IT, APPARENTLY PREVAILED AMONG ALL THE TOP OFFICIALS SURROUNDING HIM, INCLUDING SISCO AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE ALFRED L. (ROY) ATHERTON.

9. ATHERTON, IN FACT, WHO HAS A DESERVED REPUTATION AS A MAN OF HONOR, INFORMED THE ISRAELIS DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF MAY THAT JORDAN WOULD BE RECEIVING THREE HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE FIRST INCREMENTS AND STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD BE FOLLOW-ON DELIVERIES.

10. THE ISRAELIS, HOWEVER, REMEMBER ONLY THE MENTION OF THREE BATTERIES. IF ATHERTON SAID ANYTHING ABOUT FOLLOW-ON DELIVERIES, THEY SAY, IT DIDN'T REGISTER, BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS WERE ENRAGED ABOUT THE MERE FACT OF A NEW ARMS PACKAGE GOING TO JORDAN. TO THEM, THIS WAS

CONTRARY TO TERMS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD ITSELF SET IN ANNOUNCING A REASSESSMENT OF MIDDLE EAST POLICY--THAT THERE WOULD BE NO NEW ARMS COMMITMENTS. IN FACT, A LETTER OF OFFER FOR LANCE MISSILES, SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF ABOUT 100 MILES, FOR ISRAEL HAD ALREADY BEEN SENT TO CONGRESS. HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED NOT TO ACT ON IT DURING THE REASSESSMENT.

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MISSILE BATTERIES WOULD BE ADEQUATE FOR JORDANIAN DEFENSE. FORMER CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS ADM. ELMO R. ZUMWALT JR. SAID MORE THAN THAT WOULD SHIFT THE MILITARY BALANCE AND MAKE IT INEVITABLE FOR JORDAN TO BE DRAWN INTO ANY NEW MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.

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17. PENTAGON OFFICIALS LATER EXPLAINED THAT THE RECOMMENDATION FOR SIX BATTERIES WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF OTHER MISSILES AND SUPPORTING EQUIPMENT, A PACKAGE DESIGNED TO MEET JORDAN'S ABILITY TO PAY. WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT SAUDI ARABIA WAS PREPARED TO PAY FOR JORDAN'S AIR DEFENSE, HUSSEIN OPTED FOR THE MORE EXPENSIVE HAWK AND REQUESTED 22 BATTERIES. 4

28. A HAWK BATTERY CONSISTS OF SIX LAUNCHERS, EACH ACCOMMODATING THREE SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES AND SUPPORTING RADAR EQUIPMENT.

19. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAY HUSSEIN ARGUED THAT THE SYRIANS WERE PRESSING SOVIET WEAPONS ON HIM; HIS ARMY KNEW ABOUT IT AND WOULD THINK ONLY SIX FROM THE UNITED STATES INADEQUATE.

20. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID THE NUMBER OF 14 BATTERIES WAS ARRIVED AT IN NEGOTIATION, A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE SIX RECOMMENDED BY THE PENTAGON AFTER A TEAM WENT TO JORDAN IN FEBRUARY, AND THE REQUEST FROM HUSSEIN.

21. THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, ON JULY 24, REJECTED THE PROPOSED SALE. IN THE FACE OF ALMOST CERTAIN DEFEAT IN THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE THE ADMINISTRATION ON JULY 28 POSTPONED ACTION.

22. THE ADMINISTRATION'S HOPE IS THAT TEMPER WILL COOL AND SOME WAY CAN BE FOUND TO MEET THE COMMITMENT TO JORDAN--HUSSEIN IS INSISTING HE WILL NOT COMPROMISE ON FEWER THAN 14 BATTERIES--AND ALSO WIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL. TWO GOALS THAT CONTRADICT AT THE MOMENT. IT IS APPARENTLY HOPE THAT IF AN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN INTERIM AGREEMENT CAN BE NEGOTIATED, AND IF ARMS START FLOWING AGAIN TO ISRAEL, OPPOSITION WILL DIMINISH. FOR THE TIME BEING, HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION SAYS IT WILL CONTINUE TO SUBMIT THE SAME LETTER OF OFFER THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESSIONAL RECESS, WITH THE PROMISE THAT CONGRESS WILL HAVE 20 DAYS TO RECONSIDER THE ISSUE IN SEPTEMBER.

23. THE AMERICAN-ISRAELI PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE WELCOMED THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO PULL BACK FROM A CONFRONTATION. OFFICIALS THERE WERE CLEARLY CONGRATULATING THEMSELVES ON A VICTORY, BUT ALSO SOUGHT TO STRESS THAT THEY DID NOT IN PRINCIPLE OPPOSE THE SENDING OF ARMS TO JORDAN.

24. JORDANIAN PRIME MINISTER ZAID RIFAI ALSO DECLARED VICTORY IN ANNOUNCING THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO "POSTPONE THE VOTE." RIFAI, ON JORDANIAN RADIO, SAID: "IT IS KNOWN THAT THE ZIONIST ATTEMPTS WERE AIMED AT CANCELLATION OF THE ENTIRE DEAL OR AT LEAST A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF THE BATTERIES OF MODERN HAWK MISSILES FROM 14 TO SIX. HOWEVER, HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN'S COURAGEOUS STAND REJECTING ANY COMPROMISE AND INSISTING

THAT THE DEAL BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL PREVENTED THIS."

25. SEN. GAYLORD NELSON (D-WIS.), WHO SPONSORED THE LAW GIVING CONGRESS A VETO POWER OVER FOREIGN MILITARY SALES, ALSO DECLARED VICTORY. THE "WITHDRAWAL" OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL DEMONSTRATED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LAW, HE SAID. "THIS REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN THE ASSERTION OF CONGRESS' PROPER ROLE IN FOREIGN POLICY," NELSON SAID.

26. OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED, ONLY THE ADMINISTRATION ADMITS TO SUFFERING A DEFEAT. (END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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